www.ijrtem.com Volume 2 Issue 7 | July 2018 | PP 97-108

Migration as an Agent of Social Change in The Rural Areas: A Case of Banke District, Nepal

KANHAIYA SAPKOTA

Central Department of Geography Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu kanhaiya.sapkota@gmail.com

ABSTRACT: Recent research on the impact of labor migration on the socioeconomic development of developing countries has provided opportunity to try and resolve some of the long-standing polemics that have pervaded the literature on migration and development. This article focuses on findings concerning the labor, remittance, and social impacts of emigration on countries that have participated in labor emigration. While a great deal more research needs to be done, recent findings confirm that in some situations the sort-term impacts of labor migration on sending countries have been considerable. In the study area (Titiheriya, Samserganja and Rajhena VDCs of Banke district, Western Nepal total 6272 young adults left "home" to work as migrants in the Gulf and Middle Eastern countries or in India. Random sample method has been used and selected 240 households (migrants) for the data collection. Better jobs with handsome earnings motivates them to migrate to Arabian and Indian cities to secure livelihoods. But at the same time migrants are not free of risks. The findings of this study have shown largely a positive outlook of migration in terms of livelihood security. This reflects the wider themes with respect to socio-economic determinants of access and opportunity. Regardless of whether migration is as accumulative process or coping strongly, most migrants receive little support and live in very difficult conditions at their destinations. Thus, a rights-based approach to guarantee the overall security of migrants is needed.

KEY WORDS: Social structure, rural migration, remittance, economic development, accumulation, livelihood.

INTRODUCTION I.

Migration is a catalyst for change and development - it has the potential to enrich not only the economies, but more importantly perhaps the culture and societies of both countries of origin and destination. For example, while financial remittances are now widely recognized as a product of migration, social remittances, including the transfer of ideas, behaviors, identities and social capital, have received much less attention (Sapkota, 2015; 2018). At the same time, migration transforms notions of national and personal identity and some societies struggle with the process of re-defining their collective identities and maintaining social cohesion in the face of increasing diversity. Lastly, migrants themselves may bring new ideas to their host countries; while at the same time some migrant communities may hold on to lifestyles and traditions they associate with their places of origin, even if those places have since changed. Such tensions need to be negotiated in daily social interaction.

Any research in developing countries that aims to analyses the impact of rural migration on economic development and living standards in the area of origins should take into account that the livelihoods of the people involved are characterized by risk sharing more than anything else (Subedi, 1991; Stark, 1991). In this research the researcher has tried to show, especially livelihoods how, and risks are intertwined and managed by rural households in Nepal (Subedi, 1991; 1993; Sapkota, 2015; 2018). Poor rural households in developing countries have three principal options for w improve their livelihoods: 1) agricultural intensification or 'natural resource-based activities'; 2) diversification into non-agricultural sources of income or 'non-natural resourcebased activities'; and 3) migration to other agricultural areas or to urban areas (Carney, 1998; Ellis, 1998). These are not separate or mutually exclusive paths. The vast majority of rural households or families in Nepal employ at least two of the three strategies simultaneously (Seddon & Hussein, 2002). Moreover, the three strategies are linked in various ways and should be investigated accordingly. This research has focused on the presence of rural out-migration in Nepal and is linked to the other rural livelihood options and to different levels of livelihood security. 'Sustainable rural livelihoods' framework, as developed by Scoones (1998); Carney (1998) is used to identify gaps in our understanding of the consequences of migration in the area of origin. The geographical focus is on the rural area of Tarai in Nepal. We have very little knowledge on migration, when discussed as a livelihood strategy with specific reference to Nepal. In the wider social science debate, the issue of population mobility and poverty has led to many studies,

Particularly from two contrasting theoretical traditions of economic perspective and Marxist/structuralist is economic perspective (Subedi, 1993; 2016).

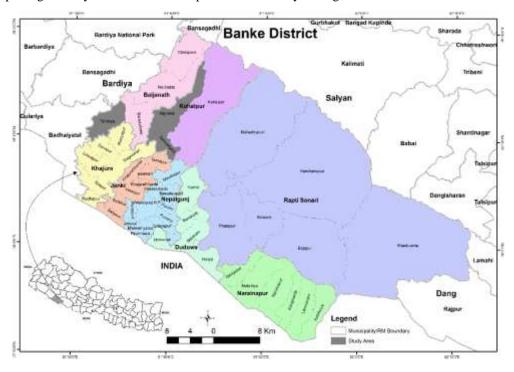
While there is indication that population mobility forms an important aspect of people's livelihoods, only a few studies have been designed in this tradition. Most of the studies tend to be macro-level studies which take on external view on the issue. There is definitely a lack of studies that have described the meaning of population mobility to the people and their livelihoods from the actors' perspectives. Another conclusion that could be drawn from the review is that population mobility has remained as under examined subject in Nepal, despite its evident and critical importance at the household, local, regional and national level.

As discussed above, few studies have indicated the importance of population mobility in social change and agrarian class structure. Other than these there have not been any systematic studies addressing the issue of migration and poverty. While a recent study examined the importance of foreign labor migration at macro-level and showed that it contributes significantly to the overall economy of Nepal, we do not know how it contributes to the livelihoods of different individuals within the household, and across households of different social groups.

We do not know how other patterns or forms of population mobility contribute to the livelihoods of the people. We are left with questions about decision-making process among different socio-economic groups and the role of population mobility shaping in people's livelihood (Sapkota, 2014a; 2014b). While viewing migration as a livelihood strategy, one of the important issues is to examine what kinds of opportunities are available for different groups of people, and whether the type of migratory work allows the migrants and their households to improve their assets and capital (Sapkota, 2016; 2017). The contextual and institutional factors, the choices and constraints, provide a useful analytical framework to understand who migrates, who stays back and why given the complex social structure that exists in Nepal, it is an equally important sociological puzzle to explore how population mobility is structured and in turn structures social relations and norms. All this mean that there is a knowledge vacuum in the field of population mobility and people's livelihoods both in wider social science debate in Nepal.

This study is a micro-level study aimed at exploring people's understanding of migration as a social phenomenon which is related with the everyday life of the rural people in Nepal. Therefore, this study has focused on to exploring the way in which the concepts of social reality of migration and its link with the social

and economic structure of the community.



II. METHODOLOGY

Household surveys have become an increasingly recognized tool to illustrate bottom-up development planning and policy in recent years. The dynamics of decision-making at the household level can reveal much about the choices, constraints and preferences that are helps achieve greater livelihood security amongst the rural

population. Household surveys at pose the apprehension of the dynamics of decision-making in the family in terms of livelihood security. The research is approached with the study objectives and the type of answers research questions sought for. Both qualitative and quantitative framework has been used. In particular, in-depth interviews and case studies of migrant households have been used in the research strategy. The argument is that such a study is important and necessary to contribute long-standing debate on social reality of migration and its relationships with family structure. Ethnographic research design has been implemented to enable micro level analysis. The findings are based primarily on ethnographic field research that has been carried out between September and December 2016. The research was mainly conducted through the use of informal interview. Initially, respondents were not guided by the preset assumptions of the interviewer, but were asked to discuss any issues and concerns related to migration and peoples' perception on migration. Triangulation and in-depth interviews were used to focus on the research as specific issues emerged. Methods were used in conjugation with quantitative analysis of household and survey data. In addition to that, various recorded documents were consulted to understand mobility, migration and social change.

As part of study, the villages were selected on the basis of the exposure to late out-migration, its relation to economic, social and political changes so that the structural changes due to migration could be analyzed. As the study aimed to understand how exposure to the outer world for economic gain affects livelihood changes and related economic and social security in the village. Titiheriya, Samserganja and Rajhena VDCs were selected based on heterogeneity of caste and families from Banke District.

This study has been carried out in the Tarai of Mid-western Nepal. The district has been covered as study unit. A total of 240 households were covered for data collection. Selection had been done through stratified random sampling. Households for data collection were selected based on the information collected from the villages. Since the last few years there has been a shift as labor migration, a new livelihood option. Further, households were identified in terms of whether family members from have migrated to the Indian cities or Arabian countries for work. Interviews were taken with migrants of similar households if they are presently working outside their native place.

III. THEORETICAL NEXUS

Social and cultural geographers with a contemporary worldwide point of view will most likely concur that the marvel of relocation and the test of improvement are vivaciously faced off regarding themes. Migration is observable and measurable, despite the invisibility of clandestine migration and the challenges of collecting good migration statistics. The global stock of migrants' people residing in a country different from their birth country stands at 232 million, 3.3% of the world's population of 7.2 billion (UN, 2013). But stock figures are static measures; they reflect the culmination of previous migrations. Given that both migration and development are dynamic processes, flows of migrants are often seen as the more relevant variable either one-way or net flows over a certain time span, such as a year or a decade. The notion of net migration, intuitively attractive in the gravitational logic of economic push and pull factors, is problematic, however, as it is the residual product of five types of migration flows: emigrants going out of a country, and those returning; immigrants coming into a country, and those returning; and finally, transit migrants passing through. Moreover, if migration is seen as the product of individual human decision-making events, then it has to be pointed out that there is no such individual as a net migrant! Fischer, Martin, and Straubhaar (1997: 94-96) engage in a simple but interesting correlation analysis between the "net stock" of migration for each country (the balance between that country's immigrants and its emigrants, expressed as a percentage of total population) and the "dependent" variable of development (gross domestic product (GDP) per capita measured in purchasing power parities). For the world as a whole, the correlation is +0.46. Overall, then, the more immigrants the higher the GDP, and the more emigration the lower the GDP.

Compared to "solid" migration, the conceptualization and measurement of development are contentious, with a diversity of perspectives. Bakewell (2012: xiv–xvi) notes two older ideas of development. The first is the European Enlightenment belief in the capacity of humanity to progress towards a stable and rational social and economic order, which implies a duty of "advanced" countries to help and "civilize" the "unenlightened" parts of the world. In practice, this was no more than a 'moral cover for colonial expansion' (ibid.). Second, the midtwentieth-century collapse of colonial empires, combined with the Cold War, set the frame for an ideological battle between, on the one side, the West's policy of "development" as modernization and economic growth within the capitalist global order and, on the other, the heterogeneous communist or socialist ideas about development espoused by the Soviet bloc, China, Cuba, etc. We return to this ideological duel presently. Over time, narrowly economic interpretations of development (i.e., economic growth measured in trends in GDP per capita as the magical indicator) broadened to a wider vision of human development. This is now well established (since 1990) in the Human Development Index used in successive annual reports of the United Nations Development Program to synthesize, alongside per capita GDP, quality-of-life variables like literacy,

health, life expectancy, infant mortality, human rights, and gender equality into composite indices. Such measures take their cue from Sen's (1999) pioneering work on conceptualizing development as the capacity of people to exercise autonomy and control over their lives.

Approaches to migration: Migration for work has been seen as one of the means of making a livelihood. Before discussing migration and livelihoods in Nepal, I would like to emphasize on different approaches to migration. The start of migration studies is usually traced back to Ravenstein's 1885 article that aimed to describe 'laws' of migration, in which the relation between distance and the volume of migration was central. Lee (1966) similarly tried to build a general theory of migration to explain the volume of migration. Zelinsky's transition model, in which modernization was linked to changes in patterns of migration has been much discussed and criticized (Skeldon 1996). The migration model that is most often cited is probably Todaro's analysis of rural-urban migration (Todaro, 1969, Harris & Todaro, 1970), which built on Lewis' (1954) analysis of the process of development in economies with a labor surplus.

In the Todaro model, a prospective migrant weighs the difference between the expected earnings in the village, and expected earnings from formal sector urban employment allowing for his or her assessment of the probability of an initial period of unemployment or of informal sector employment. Hatton and Williamson (1992), and Larson and Mundlak (1997) more recently re-affirmed the validity of the basic model, as did Lucas' (1985) work on migration in Botswana. Thadani and Todaro (1984), in a little noted contribution explore social determinants of migration, but other modifications have continued to focus on the economics of the migration decisions. Stark, in his theory, that is often referred to as the 'new economics of migration' – has extended the Todaro model. (Stark & Levari, 1982, Katz & Stark, 1986, Lakshmansamy, 1990), takes account of incomplete and imperfect information (Stark, 1991; Knight & Song, 1997), of imperfections in rural capital markets (Stark, 1980, Collier & Lal, 1984), and of transaction costs. Finally, it stresses the importance in migration decisions of relative deprivation in the local income distribution rather than absolute deprivation (Stark & Taylor, 1989).

Push-pull models of migration as developed by Lee (1966) are a logical extension of the Todaro-type of analysis. Some debate has gone into discussing whether push or pull is more important. For example, Bigsten (1996), who has a 'New Economics' approach, in which household decisions and personal networks are central - argues that pull of high wages is more important than the push of land scarcity in explaining migration decisions in Kenya, while Adams (1993) finds the reverse in international migration from Egypt. In Henan Province pull factors or the demand side of the labor market were thought to be more important than considerations of household labor supply or other factors determining productivity at home. Research shows that continuity, in terms of social institutions, marks migration processes. Migration decisions are usually part of a continuing effort, consistent with traditional values, to solve recurrent problems to do with a balance between available resources and population numbers. Spontaneous movement and settlement, as in southern Ethiopia for example, are not unique or unusual events but part of a long-term process of ecological and cultural differentiation. Davies noted in Mali that in times of livelihood insecurity the timing of migration may change but the pattern of migration fundamentally remains unaltered (Black & Sessay 1995). A central point in the recent literature is that migration is usually not a disjuncture in society's history. It is usually part of populations' survival strategies, and even population mobility in the face of destructive forces tends to build on earlier migrations. Migration movements are embedded in the societies' strategies to obtain livelihoods. Sociocultural structures give migration particular forms. Also, the newer approaches, in different ways, show that migration does not approximate a lottery. Migrations options are not open to all People do not move en-masse, forced by economic or political factors. Migration streams are highly segmented and people's networks, preceding migrations and various social institutions to a large extent determine, who migrates, and from which areas. This also means that the gains from migration are not distributed equally.

In this research this is done with a focus on the relation between migration and rural livelihoods in Nepal at people rather than resources or geographical areas. Moreover, people in their specific environments of social and economic organization are considered. People do not operate individually, but in the context of larger kinship groups. Structural-historical analyses of unequal development in Nepal provide essential insights in the underlying are considered of migration (Gill, 2003, Seddon & Hussein, 2002, Shrestha, 1989).

Migration flow from Nepal to India: Discussion on movement proposes that work course isn't just constrained to streams inside Nepal and to Bay nations. There is likewise impressive occasional movement in the two headings over the Indian outskirt. The Punjab develops as the major country goal for Nepalese transients, while Delhi is the most essential urban one. Punjab, together with Haryana and Uttar Pradesh are real green upheaval states in India and this is known to have made overwhelming occasional work request, which is met by inrelocation from different parts of India.

Transients from all finished Nepal join these streams. Wheat and rice overwhelm the work done by Nepalese invagrants in these states. The principle design depends on the transients landing in time for the wheat gather and post-reap tasks on this yield. They are then associated with arrive planning for and transplant of, the consequent rice edit. Another less essential, however critical Nepal-India stream that rises up out of the information is to Himachal Pradesh. This is one of India's most imperative plant states and Nepalese vagrants take a shot at apples, potatoes and different vegetables. Street building develops as an imperative wellspring of regular non-rural work in country regions of India. In urban zones work is commanded by low talented occupations, especially broad working, manufacturing plant employments and rickshaw pulling albeit a few transients supposedly participate in exchange as well. In Indian urban communities, in spite of the fact that the Punjab incorporates essential urban territories, the vagrants detailed as heading off to this state were likewise revealed as working fundamentally in horticulture henceforth Punjab is portrayed as a country goal (Gill, 2003).

IV. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

In the study area, a total 3272 labor potential young adults work as migrant either in Gulf and Middle East countries or in India. A total 1950 has left to Arabian countries with the highest concentration of emigrants among Sahu, Danuwar, Yadav, Muslim and Dalits. The other 1295 highest in Dalits has basically left to Punjab, Delhi, Ahmadabad and Haryana of India.

The preferences of workers regarding their destination country are dependent on their socio-economic condition, educational status, access to information, and their existing networks. For example, the poorer they are the more likely they are to work either in Kathmandu or in India. Individuals often select the cities of destination in India; based on the experiences of people they know who have all ready to migrated to the same location. The salary pattern also attracts migrants to choose the employment.

Process of becoming a migrant: Migration to Arabian countries is a lengthier process than migration to India. In the case of Gulf countries, the individual first needs to obtain a passport. There were numerous cases where migrants first got their citizenships because they wanted to migrate to oil rich Gulf countries. Once, after getting a passport and citizenships interested individual's approach a sub agent in the village. In the case of the study villages of Banke District, there are quite a few sub-agents available in the respective tole itself. There are 11 sub-agents who find ways for migrants to fly to Arabian countries for work. Through the sub-agent an individual applies to a manpower agency based on skills and ability to work abroad. Most of the time individuals go through layers of subagents, the first subagent is, a person from the same community or village the migrant than goes to the agent of nearby towns such as Nepalgunj or Kohalpur before going to main agents at manpower agencies in Kathmandu. Depends on the education and information migrant holds on employability abroad. In the course of getting a visa to fly for work, migrants spend a minimum Rs.90, 000 to Rs.115, 000 for unskilled and semiskilled jobs. Before the selection is made, migrant workers undergo a medical check-up that includes a test for HIV. A positive test disqualifies the applicant. If a migrant worker is found to be HIV positive at the destination, they are most often sent back to their home country. In most of the cases, these tests are not accompanied with pre or post-test counseling and workers are often not informed of the basis for their disqualification.

Cheating by subagent is a common feature among the migrants. Workers are often using to be called to Kathmandu for health check-ups though such check-ups are available either in Kohalpur or in Nepalgunj. They are charged inflated fees for health check-ups which are often double the actual cost. People normally pay Rs.1, 500 for health checkups that could be done for Rs.700. In most of the cases migrants are also not aware of the mother organization in the country through with they go for work. They are not given all original documents so that in case of problem, they seek justice. Sometimes migrant workers have sold their land and property in lieu of overseas jobs. Nepalese workers are sometimes forced to work under inhuman conditions for with low wages.

In the case of migration to India, there are relatives an easy course. People decide to go for a particular part or state of India in group to seek work. There is a leader who finds a job at the destination. The leader has the information about the availability of jobs and is aware of the place and situation in detail. The leader is called 'Nabedar' who collects the money for transportation from a moneylender and promises to pay back after earning for a season that lasts from four to six months. He also takes care of the accounts and expenses of the workers at the place of work. For all these services, the Nabedar takes extra Rs.100 from each migrant per visit.

Who are migrants and where are they from?

Migrants are predominantly young adults from low-income families. People have seen migration to Gulf countries in terms of immediate return in economic aspect. Earlier they used to go to Punjab. Earlier they could earn just enough for food. Now they earn Rs. 80,000 per month in Dubai. In the case of migration, them India, landless migrants are generally illiterate and unable to handle labor dealing by selves they are often from low caste group such as *Musahar*, *Dhanukh*, and *Chamar* (Dalits) migrate. Young boys stop going to school once they are in 4 or 5 standards. In a way, they are ready to work in Punjab. Mainly children aged between 13 to 16 years, accompanied by a few young adults and a leader called 'Nabedar' go in a group to work in Indian states like, Delhi, Haryana and Panjab.

These groups of people mainly get involved in agricultural works though some get more in restaurants and others get manual work in the cities. At the other end, those who have enough resources to take risk try to go to the Arabian countries to work. These migrating to Gulf countries are mostly married, some of them newly married. Of the total that migrated to gulf countries 90 percent of them were literate at least with a primary education. Similarly, individuals migrating to India often did not complete a school and choose to work in Indian cities as minors. Rather, they migrated for better and more rewarding employment opportunities than what they had in rural areas. This has been expressed as the major reason for migration to India and the Gulf. Migration has strengthened their networks with friends and relatives at the point of destination so that social capital and inclusion with cultural patterns could be maintained. Hence, migrations occur from rural villages to Gulf countries and India not merely due to pull or push factors alone but through an interactive process between both push and pull factors combined with active support of social networks.

Place of migration: In the study villages, more than 60% of the people do not have citizenship cards because their fathers did not acquire one, one of our interviewers' migrant complained. Every time they go to India they borrow Rs. 2000 to Rs.5000 Indian Currency from moneylender. Migrants basically go to Delhi, Punjab and Haryana where they get engaged in farm work. In 45 households of the Musher community almost 25 people had gone to India for seasonal work during this field research. Young boys go to India to earn and save so that they can get married once they are of around 16/17ys.

Being young, they are not matured to save money. They just land up spending money to enjoy the life what they are exposed at urban centers. Parents sometimes compel their children to go to India for works are of 14 to 15 years. Conflict situations and related security problems in the community are other reasons that young migrate. Household data justifies that due to ongoing conflict, 4% of the young people of the community are opting to be migrant. In the case of migrants going to India there was hardly any communication with home between when they left and when they came back. While at work in India, insecurity remains a problem, as even family members do not know what the person does face work in India. Migrants who go to India show distinct characteristics.

Characteristics of migrant workers who go to India: Earlier a majority of villagers used to go to India now prefer to go to Arabian countries. In some cases, migrants first go to India to understand and learn the general attitude of urbanization and the world outside so that they will be able to deal with the situation abroad, whereby they also earn and save money for expenses incurred for visa and other documents.

People usually go to Punjab during the harvest season. They take *thika* (assigned work) and paid based on the volume of work. A migrant gets Rs. 1000 IC for a hectare of rice harvest, potato or wheat. Migrants usually stay 3 to 6 months at the working station. Among the groups of laborers, it was found that respect at working place, complimentary food and drink (tea) has become a big motivating factor for work. Some of them do take jobs as *naukar* (servant). In this kind of job worker get paid around Rs.1500 Indian currency per month apart from food and lodging. At the same time wageworker are paid Rs. 700 along with food and tea. Migrants go to India return with 8 to10 thousand Indian rupees trip, along with clothes and other household goods for family members.

Characteristics of migration to Gulf countries :There are varieties of jobs available in Arab states for migrants of the study villages. The work can be divided to unskilled labor such as manual labor in oil refinery as to put petrol in tank, *mojara* work (agriculture / Farm), labor in building construction/ other manual work, garments work, poultry farmhouse work, factory labor and semiskilled labor such as, carpenter, electrician, barber, driver, pipe fitter etc. Migrants earn Nepali Rs.35000 to 45000 on an average, earning increases depending on extra work they do or the type of job they have.

The poorest rarely migrate: Cross-tabulation between land holding class and numbers of households migrating (not presented here) shows that the small and marginal farmers have a slightly higher chance of migrating to Gulf countries compared to agricultural laborers. In addition to that, migration among laborers is most of the time restricted to India. Case studies on migration, suggest that a minimum level of capital assets

is required to make the investment for migration is also required for travel, preparing passport and visa and citizenship card etc. A credit asset to get money from moneylenders. In the case of migration to India, costs are marginal so laborers are able to manage this cost and are able to migrate.

The mechanism of social capital in operation: Thinking beyond entitlements and capability, social capital may be defined as those features of social organization that networks of individuals and households and the associated norms and values that create positive externalities for the community as a whole (Grootaert & Van Bastelaer, 2002). Such an approach is particularly important in isolated environments where social networks become the primary source of information. Of particular importance is the role of social capital, which influences the ability of households to cope and adapt, under changing circumstances. There is a very strong sense of community and cooperation between households that function in a natural environment. Villagers have kept favorable relations with moneylenders and other influential members of the village. There are cases when disputes arise between agents who send people for work and other household members in the case of low income or unbearable conditions the work place. Strong community ties exist between the members of the same sub-caste group. Migrants were found communicating with their family members about maintaining social networks in the community. In almost all the communication, they greet influential members of the community and neighbours so that social network keeps continuing with their family members. In all communications, migrants pass greetings and regards as namaskar (regards) to all the villagers and influential members of the village so that people will take care of their family if problems arise in the absences of the migrants. This is stronger for people staying in nuclear families. They also greet agents and neighbors and moneylenders for help if the family needs it in absence of the worker. There are distinct ways to maintain social networks as social capital at their native place. If problems at office the work place, migrants communicate with the family members and villagers to pressurize the sub agent in the village and the manpower agency in Kathmandu. It is through the social network that they approach the host agency for rights if discrimination and any other jobrelated problem occur at work place. Likewise, migrants also form social networks where they work. They celebrate festivals together and gather on holidays regularly. This maintains their network with other people working as migrants abroad.

Migrations and household status: As talked about before, movement acquires exceptional changes the status of the household. Firstly, through the physical absence of the young members and secondly, through the inflow of foreign remittances. All these changes can be analyzed in three dimensions, i.e. i) Physical changes: age, head of house hold decision making, sex; ii) Economic- consumer goods, assets, consumption, saving and how remittances change house hold economies, anf iii) Socio demographic and cultural changes.

Household, decision-making and gender: Households have been viewed as the essential unit in the town for the transient, whom they allude back to. Family units depend on set of tenets that are preset and are practically speaking because of the observations and customs of ages. But, for taught families, which have utilized levelheaded reasoning as a method for separating the amazingly various leveled nature of town life, the family unit component is socially decided. Diverse rank gatherings delineate comparative dispositions and desire forever and employments. In the family all the individual individuals share the same social reference point. Individuals in the family units share parts and duties among themselves. Age decides significant variety.

Table 1: How people take decision to migrate			
Decision of migration	Number	Percent	
In the family	192	80	
By own	44	18	
By agent	4	2	
Total	240	100	

Source: Field Survey, 2016.

The oldest male tends to take choices in the joint family. This position passed on to oldest child when he turns out to be monetarily more imperative in the family unit. In a joint family the relative appreciates self-governance in regards to basic leadership throughout the everyday running of the family unit. There is an exceptionally unbending pecking order between ladies of a similar family unit. The association of ladies in basic leadership shifts impressively. The most essential wellspring of contention inside family exists among moms and daughter— in— laws. The division of the family is because of the ceaseless contentions between ladies of a similar family. Daughter-in-law are frequently regarded as slave of the family and given numerous

obligations in family tasks. Ladies in joint family have little commitment as far as creating out—of-home financial advantages for the family unit and along these lines they give up monetary basic leadership. Interestingly, in the atomic families the spouse of the transients has impact over basic leadership and a more prominent level of flexibility of decision.

Eighty percent of the cases, decisions regarding migration take place in the family. The head of the family arranges the financial support for migration. There are very few cases when individuals decide to migrate without any family discussion on the matter, though at the end individual helped by the family members to migrate.

Women empowerment: Better living conditions with new monetary request changing duty of ladies without their male partners and the disturbance of conjugal association has impacted the fruitfulness conduct of the ladies in vagrant family units. On account of spouses as they included as the leader of the family unit without their accomplices, the parts and obligation have additionally expanded. Work has been observed to be a profitable resource for the whole family unit. The significance of monetarily dynamic family individuals is especially imperative for families. Amid field work it was discovered that families wanted to send the relatives after their marriage as to repay his work with his partners.

Families having all the more winning individuals in the family units have had more prominent job security. On account of relocation to Bay nations young fellows tend to wedded before they move for work at the same time pay of work is kept up in the family unit. Further, marriage likewise fills in as an organization of control for vagrants at the working spot. Scientist would state there is a move from 'working child' to 'working little girl' happens as far as work in the family.

Why People are becoming migrants?

The overwhelming motive for international migration from Nepal is an economic one. The country currently has a pool of about 200,000 unemployed workers every year. Insecurity Lack of employment opportunities in the country is a main reason for increases in migration patterns. In the case of the study villages, migrants repent "if we work in the agriculture field in the village we get 2 ser boin (1 and half Kg. of grain as exchange of labor) per day as return to the labor we put in a day, this is hardly feed the family members".

Why Migration?

In search of better livelihoods people in rural Nepal migrate. Better jobs with handsome earning motivate them to migrate to Arabian and Indian cities. 62% of rural households migrate for work because they want to earn more and have better livelihood. The other 20% migrate because they are only employed seasonally at their native place. Another 18% say that they want to have savings for social and cultural obligation therefore they migrate to different potential places for work. This is only true of the migrants who go to the Indian cities for work, as they belong to marginal groups of the community. Rural life is changing fast and people are far less dependent on agriculture and related work if they don't have enough land to take care of family members.

Household data depicts those families where individuals have been working abroad for last three years or more is 53% of total migration. These are

Table 2: Period of migration	n	
Year	Number	Percent
Less than 1 year	37	15
1-3 years	76	32
3-5years	87	36
More than 5 years	40	17
Total	240	100

Source: Field Survey, 2016.

Table 3:	Total no	of members	earning	from the
family				

tamily		
No of earners	Number	Percent
1	51	21
2-3	110	46
3-4	76	32
5 and more	2	1
Total	239	100

Table 4: Trends of migration in a family

Source: Field Survey, 2016.

Migration in the family	Number	Percent
1 person	182	76
1-3 person	58	24
Total	240	100
Source: Field Survey, 2016	<u> </u>	

the migrant households with significant changes in terms of quality of life compared to those families where migrants have gone to work less than three years ago.

Livelihood desire	Number	Percent
Housing/Food/education	50	21
Land and physical asset	46	19
Money	67	28
Others	77	32
Total	240	100

During the field research 24% of families had 2 or more than 2 members earning outside, compared to 76% of family having one family member earning outside.

The major objective of the household is to secure livelihoods over longer periods. In the process of securing livelihoods people value land as a major asset. However, there are exceptions to this rule at different ends of the social spectrum. The members of well-to-do migrant households have changed their ambitions. Now they want to educate their children in boarding schools. They are also creating alternative urban settlements at nearby semi urban centers apart from their home in the village.

From the perspective of households, important things for better livelihoods are the presence a guardian in the family, who takes responsibilities for the care of family members, house, assets and land holding and children's education. To realize all these aspirations, remittances are required. Due to the remittance coming from abroad, people who did not have assets before now have added some assets for livelihood security.

Economic status: Among migrant households 32% of their heads perceive an improvement in their economic status. The extent of the improvement among the households however, is largely influenced by the duration of the migrants' stay abroad. Fifty percent did not have any property before migration and that has been reduced to 38%. This 38% represents a major chunk of the migrants who work in India.

Members of the households perceived improvement in their economic status, when at least one-member working had been abroad for last 5 years. The satiability of a migrant plays a crucial role in influencing the economic status of the native household. This is because migrants take heavy loans before they go to work. The interest rate goes as high as 60% per year and it takes more than one year to pay back the money to the money lender if they save Rs. 7,000 to Rs. 10,000 per month.

The background characteristics of the head of the household also propose some variations in terms of perceived economic status. The most important characteristic in this regard is the educational background of the household head. The household interviewed also talk about other kinds of things for their livelihoods that include, prestige, fulfillment of social obligations etc.

Table 6: Property after migration

Positive correlation can be established between assets holding after migration (land and house) and the perceived improvement in the households' economy. The comparison between the assets they held before migration and assets after migration clearly demonstrates out the positive impact of migration on the economic status of household. At households, the improvement reported by the head of a household seems to be an underestimation of the change in the economic status of the family.

Number	Percent
17	7
60	25
72	30
91	38
240	100
	17 60 72 91

Structural changes: In the rustic networks of the investigation zone, the majority of the family units currently win some money wage because of relocation abroad, or to the adjacent locale town to Kathmandu. Relocation has changed the trimming possession and exchanged some of it to the underestimated. Prior there was shabby work accessible in the town, thusly proprietors used to gather the land by them yet because of movement worker

to work in the fields are in edge. Furthermore, if accessible expensive, accordingly landowners are constrained to share arrive for cultivating.

Responsibility for is expanding among the land less in the examination region. Landowners are compelled to pitch their territory to the vagrants at showcase cost. Landholding design is evolving gradually, with the inflow of settlements, making a space for transients to discover job alternatives in their own town by including land as an advantage. This is further driving towards an adjustment in the fundamental structures of the town.

Caste and class can indeed be seen as mutually constitutive forms of social identity. At the same time there are clear limits to this congruence. Class and caste variation is very true in the study area through one must understand the dynamism that it works within. For generations, those who had been labelled as high class happen to continue the continuum. Though the system like *Lagua* (a servant from low class do agriculture work for particular family) is disappearing, slowly. 'Mainjan' system that was prevalent earlier now changing slowly due to the change in societal norms.

People in the privileged positions of high and low caste, continue to pull away from the rest of the population in terms of economic advancement. They are well educated, holding positions in the government, business, agriculture and strong political and economic connections both inside and outside the village. The current generation is now getting tertiary level education.

It was amazing to find that there is a Sarbariya caste too in Nepal yet not scheduled in national census. This group belongs to Dalits. Once a caste group (Danuwar) member marries a Dalit they become, 'Biltaw' to 'Sarbariya'. Even they don't know what caste they belong to, as there are no records as such. Impressive growth in the economic welfare of the Sahu Caste is an example of migration driven growth in Raghunathpur. The Sahu sub-caste was found to be the most enterprising group in this area. Over generations they have secured their livelihoods from agriculture and the caste occupation of oil extraction. The intensification of agriculture and income from the caste occupation has led to diversification into other areas of business, namely money lending and grocery shops. Even Sahu caste constitutes the highest concentration of as migrant workers in Gulf countries. In this sub-caste migrants lend money to their own group members who have a reciprocal growth for both; the borrower migrants' gets money easily and the lender no risk of losing money and grow parallel. Migration has set good example for growth among the Sahus of the study area. Now people are aware about their basic rights but they are not able to raise the issues of their concern. People's lives have changed in terms of living standards and quality of life such as food clothing, and asset holdings.

Cultural continuum and change: Individuals are never again intrigued to fill in as worker, in return for grain. They want to work in-bunches as opposed to alone. Desires have ascended, with individuals wishing to gain more in less time. They like to fill in as contractual workers instead of day by day ways laborers. It was discovered that individuals confront serious nourishment emergency yet they remain at home as opposed to go and function as workers in the town. The propensity for burning through cash in the town is moderately high. Vagrants come back from their work put on siestas and invest the vast majority of their energy in talking around or conveying in their interpersonal organization. Some of them have a tendency to spend all the cash while at their local place. They again get cash from moneylender to come back to the following nation. Vagrants who choose to remain back are the ones who can't bear to work outside on account of physical issues they have or family issues they confront. Transients need increasingly and put stock in their predetermination. Religious and Cultural faith is still prevalent in the households of the migrant. They are compelled to eat 'tulsi' (a plant's leaf that is for purification is used during Hindu religious ceremony) to purify the person as he had come from a Muslim country and had possibly become impure. Households also offer 'pooja' or prayer to their 'kul devata' (family god) in favor of the migrant.

V. CONCLUSION

In the commonplace systems in Nepal, development has been seen as a probability for picking up. People have shown energy to move to the nations, which offers the most critical possible results for settlement. There have been quantitative and moreover subjective changes found in the desires for regular solaces of the all-inclusive community with respect to assets gathering, care about central prosperity, sustenance and guideline in the town. People earlier had no favorable position base can incorporate assets to the extent arrive, animals, houses, saving et cetera. Another edge of reference is making with respect to show day regards and social orders. As it were, society is at an advance and one of the genuine components contributing towards this change is quick development to different countries. Meanwhile, there are risks that drifters may be obliged to live with. This reflects broader points concerning money related determinants of access and opportunity. Regardless of whether development is aggregate or adjusting, most homeless people

get little help and live in uncommonly troublesome conditions at their objectives. Disregarding the way that their undertakings are the certifiable engine of advancement in a couple of sections, giving an unassuming and versatile work source, they remain without an identity and can't ensure state resources for guideline, restorative administrations, water and sanitation in the midst of the time that they are in their host countries. There are a couple of unmistakable positions on what should be done to address the issue of development. The standard view is that migration should be reduced or controlled by making work in towns. In the meantime, steps ought to be taken to assist vagrants with the objective that their hardships are reduced and they are ensured access to crucial requirements. A rights-based approach to manage guarantee the general security of vagrants is required.

REFERENCES

- 1. Adams, R. H. (2005). The economic and demographic determinants of international migration in rural Egypt. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 30(1): 146-67.
- 2. Bakewell, O. (2012). Introduction. In O. Bakewell (Ed.), *Migration and development* (pp. xiii–xxiii). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- 3. Bigsten, A. (1996). The circular migration of smallholders in Kenya. Journal of African Economies, 5 (1): 1–20.
- 4. Black, R. Sessay, M. F. (1997). Forced migration, environmental change and wood fuel issues in the Senegal River Valley. Environmental Conservation 24 (3): 251–260.
- 5. Carney, D. (1998). Sustainable rural livelihoods: What contribution can we make? DFID, London.
- 6. Collier, P. and Lal, D. (1984). Why poor people get rich: Kenya 1960–1979. World Development, 12 (10): 1007-1018.
- 7. Eliakim Katz, E. and Stark, O. (1986). Labor Migration and Risk Aversion in Less Developed Countries. *Journal of Labor Economics*, 4 (1): 134-49.
- 8. Ellis, F. (1998). Household strategies and rural livelihood diversification. *Journal of Development Studies*, Vol.35, No.1, pp.1-38, UK.
- 9. Fischer, P. A., Martin, R. and Straubhaar, T. (1997) Interdependencies between development and migration', in Tomas Hammar et al. (eds) *International migration immobility and development: Multidisciplinary perspectives*, pp. 91-132. Oxford and New York: Berg.
- 10. Gill, G. J. (2003). *Seasonal labor migration in Rural Nepal, Preliminary overview*, Working Paper, 218, Overseas Development Institute, London.
- 11. Grootaert, C. and Van, Bastelaer, T. (2002). *The role of social capital in Development*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 12. Harris, J. R. and Todaro, M. P. (1970). Migration, unemployment and development: A two-sector analysis. *The American Economic Review*, 60 (1): 126-142.
- 13. Hatton, T. J. and Williamson, J. G. (1992). *International migration and world development: A historical perspective*. NBER Historical Working Paper No. 41.
- 14. Knight, J. and Song, L. (1997). Chinese peasant choices: migration, rural industry or farming. *Applied Economics Discussion Paper Series no 1888*, Institute of Economics and Statistics, University of Oxford, 1-29.
- 15. Lakshmansamy, T. (1990). Family survival strategy and migration: An analysis of returns to migration. *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, 51(3): 473-85.
- 16. Larson, D. and Mundlak, Y. (1997). On the Intersectoral Migration of Agricultural Labor. Economic Development and Cultural Change 45: 295-319.
- 17. Lee, E. S. (1966). A theory of migration. *Demography*, 3 (1): 47-57.
- 18. Lewis, W. A. (1954). Economic development with unlimited supplies of labor, *Manchester School of Economic and Social Studies*, 22: 139-91.
- 19. Lucas, R. (1985). Migration amongst the Botswana. Economic Journal, 95 (378): 358-82.
- 20. Ravenstein, E. G. (1889). *The laws of migration*. Bobbs-Merrill Reprint Series in the Social Sciences, S483.
- 21. Sapkota, K. (2014a). International labour migration, remittances and social change in the middle hill of Nepal: A case of Byas Municipality, Tanahu. *Development Discourse*, 1: 23-36.
- 22. Sapkota, K. (2014b). Migration as a response to relative deprivation. *Development Discourse*, 2: 49-70.
- 23. Sapkota, K. (2015). Seasonal labour migration, remittances and livelihoods: Case of rural community of Bhatuliya Village Development Committee (VDC), Mahottari District, Central Tarai of Nepal. *International Journal for Social Development*, 3 (1): 54-71.
- 24. Sapkota, K. (2016). The economic benefit and social cost of migration on left behind: A case of Bhatauliya VDC, Mahottari District, Central Tarai of Nepal. *Practising Geographer*, 20 (1): 87-104.

- 25. Sapkota, K. (2017). Contribution of community forestry to people's livelihoods in the Eastern Middle Hills of Nepal. *International Journal for Social Development*, 5 (4): 34-60.
- 26. Sapkota, K. (2018). Seasonal labor migration and livelihood in the middle-hill of Nepal: Reflections from Arghakhanchi District. *Research Nepal Journal of Development Studies*. 1(1): 42-57.
- 27. Scoones, I, (1998) *Sustainable rural livelihoods: A framework for analysis*, IDS Working Paper, Institute of Development Studies, Dhaka, Bangladesh.
- 28. Seddon, D. and Hussein K., (2002). *The consequences of conflict: Livelihood and development of Nepal*, Working Paper, 185, Overseas development Institute, London.
- 29. Sen, A. (1999). Development as freedom. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 30. Shrestha, N. R. (1989). Frontier settlement and landlessness among Hill Migrants in Nepal Tarai, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 79 (3): 370-389.
- 31. Skeldon, Ronald, 1996, 'Migration from China', Journal of International Affairs, 49 (2): 434-55.
- 32. Stark, O. (1980). On the role of urban-rural remittances in rural development', *Journal of Development Studies*, 16 (3): 369-374.
- 33. Stark, O. (1991). The migration of labor, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- 34. Stark, O. and Levhari, D. (1982). On migration and risk in LDCs, *Economic Development and Cultural Change*. 31:191-196.
- 35. Stark, O. and Taylor, I. E. (1989). Relative deprivation and international migration. *Demography*, 26(1): 1-14.
- 36. Subedi, B. P. (1991). International migration in Nepal: Towards an analytical framework. *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, 18(1), 84-102.
- 37. Subedi, B. P. (1993). Continuity and change in population movement: From inside a rural Nepali community. An Arbor, Michigan: UMI Dissertation Services.
- 38. Subedi, B. P. (2003). International migration from Nepal: Emerging patterns and trends. In Y. Ishikawa, *A comprehensive study of migration changes in Asia and Pacific region*. Kyoto: Japanese Society for Promotion of Sciences, Kyoto University.
- 39. Subedi, B. P. (2016). Nepalma yowa berojgarsanga jodiyako basainsarai ra shram prawasan gatishila. In K. B. Ghanashyam Bhusal, & Y. Sahi, *Nepal: Capitalism and development* (in Nepali) (pp. 33-103). Kathmandu: Center for Nepalese Studies.
- 40. Thadani, V. and Todaro, M. (1984). Female migration: A conceptual framework. In *women in the cities of Asia: Migration and urban adaptation*, edited by James T. Fawcett, Siew-Ean Khoo and Peter C. Smith. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- 41. Todaro, M. P., (1969). A model of labor migration and urban unemployment in less developed countries', *The American Economic Review*, 59: 138-149.
- 42. UN. (2013). *Trends in international migration stock: The 2013 revision*. New York: United Nations Population Division.

KANHAIYA SAPKOTA (2018). Migration as an Agent of Social Change in the Rural Areas: A Case of Banke District, Nepal. Invention Journal of Research Technology in Engineering & Management (IJRTEM), 2(7), 97-108. Retrieved July 30, 2018, from www.ijrtem.com.